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ABSTRACT

Voting patterns in the 97th United States Congress (1981), in which the Senate was under Republican control for the first time in 30 years, are analyzed. The study measured conservatism from congressional voting analyses made by the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA), and the Conservative Coalition (CC). The ratings were restricted to roll call votes in both the House and the Senate. Also each member of Congress was rated according to how supportive he or she was of President Reagan's position on each bill. Variables included congressional members' seniority, party, religion, region, and sex. Results indicated that conservatism is predicted by a combination of factors, the strongest being political party (Republican) and region which the legislator represents (South). The legislator's support for the President's position on each bill was also statistically significant. The religion and sex of the legislators showed no significance. Finally, although seniority had no significance in the Senate, it showed a relationship to liberalism in the House. Recommendations for further research include a redefinition of regional variables, an analysis of freshman congressional voting behavior, and a study of membership on major standing committees. (KC)

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PRELIMINARY ANALYSES OF THE MEASURE OF CONGRESSIONAL ACTION DESCRIBING THE EFFECTS OF CONSERVATISM AND PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT ON THE 97TH UNITED STATES CONGRESS AS DEFINED BY SELECTED DEMOGRAPHERS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	PURPOSE	2
III.	FRAMEWORK	3
IV.	VARIABLES	5
	Age	5
	Religion	5
	Region	6
	Sex	7
	Ideological groupings	7
	Political party	9
	Presidential Support Score	10
	Other variables	11
V.	THEORY	12
	Regression analysis	12
VI.	THE GENERAL MODEL	14
VII.	MODEL I	19
	ADA:House	19
	ADA:Senate	22
	ACA:House	24
	ACA:Senate	27
	CC:House	30
	CC:Senate	32
	PSS:House	34
	PSS:Senate	36

SECTION Page

VIII. PART II OF THE STUDY 41

ADA:House 41

ADA:Senate 42

ACA:House 43

ACA:Senate 44

CC:House 44

CC:Senate 45

IX. SUMMARY 47

Background 47

Purpose 47

Framework 47

Measures 48

Variables 48

Limitations 49

Analytical techniques 49

Refinement 50

X. CONCLUSIONS 51

XI. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY 54

Footnotes 55

BIBLIOGRAPHY 58

APPENDIX A Additional Data Analyses to Support Study 59

List of Tables

Table		Page
1.	Correlation Matrix for the Dependent Variables: House	38
2.	Correlation Matrix for the Dependent Variables: Senate	38
3.	t-values for Model I - Both House and Senate	40
4.	Region Variable Identification for the Study Compared with Clausen and Shaffer	56
5.	Frequencies of Selected Demographers	60
6.	Mean, Median, Mode and Range of the Continuous Variables Used in the Study	61

List of Figures

Figure		Page
1.	Framework of Analytical Steps Used in the Study	4
2.	Summary of Expected and Observed Arithmetic Sign Relationships for Model I - House	39
3.	Summary of Expected and Observed Arithmetic Sign Relationships for Model I - Senate	39

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

With the widespread distrust and disillusionment of the Carter years, the American public, on November 4, 1980 voted Ronald Reagan into the White House, accompanied by a host of Republican legislators at both the national and state levels. Although a few of the Republicans owed their new seats directly to the "coattail effect" of Reagan's personal appeal, the sweeping gains made by the Republicans nationwide can be attributed more accurately to general voter frustration and desire for change. The Republicans, sensing this dissatisfaction, launched a massive campaign conveying the message to "Vote Republican. For a change." Many political analysts agreed that there were a number of reasons for the pro-change sentiment among the electorate and Reagan merely symbolized this felt need for a change. Voter discontent reached its high point under the Carter administration during the Iranian hostage crisis, where public attention was focused on United States' problems--principally, double digit inflation at home and declining prestige abroad. Reagan's campaign, on the other hand, promised some relief, a change. For Reagan this change meant less federal government intervention, a reduction in federal spending--promising to balance the budget and reduce the national debt--and a more prosperous future, ending the

economic recession which plagued the country under the Carter administration.

It is often unclear whether voters were voting for Reagan or against Carter. However, the end result was the same--a national GOP sweep. To illustrate how encompassing the "change trend" was, for the first time since 1952 (30 years) the United States Senate was under Republican control. The Democrats also suffered substantial losses in the House of Representatives (e.g.GOP gains: 33 House seats, 12 Senate seats and four (4) governorships). It was clear that a national movement toward change had taken place--and the electorate chose Ronald Reagan and many other GOPers to lead them.[1]

SECTION II

PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to describe the effects of conservatism on the 97th United States Congress which is composed of members elected in the November, 1980 election. In order to accurately describe the present (97th) Congress in terms of its interactive factors, sets of empirical conditions had to be established, based upon selected demographic factors and independent scales of measurement of Congressional action.

Each individual member of Congress has specific

identifiable characteristics which may affect the manner in which he[2] votes on issues, as identified in bills presented to the house of which he is a member. For this reason the logical place to start would be to gain a better understanding of the descriptive statistics (factors) both for Congressmen as individuals as well as an analysis of the similarities and differences of the groups to which the various members of Congress belong.

SECTION III

FRAMEWORK

The basic framework within which this study will be focused uses the guidelines of the conservative/liberal cleavage on the one hand and the factor of Presidential support on the other. The other variables used to obtain a description of Congress will be utilized in conjunction with these guidelines (descriptors).

The remainder of this study will focus on the following three areas of description. These are:

1. A description of the different measures of liberalism/conservatism which include the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) and the Conservative Coalition (CC). This part of the description will center on pointing out how each measure

differs and the interrelationships involved.

2. A determination of which demographic variables best predict or contribute to each of the measures of conservatism (ADA, ACA and CC) and their relationship to the Presidential Support Score (PSS)[3] Using these four scores an attempt will be made to predict which best predicts conservatism among the three party divisions: Democrats (D); Republicans (R); and Southern Democrats (SD) as well as the two houses of Congress, the House of Representatives (H) and Senate (S).
3. The third part of this study will attempt to answer the question: Which of the three (3) measures of conservatism (ADA, ACA, CC) is the best predictor of the PSS?

Schematically, this framework is shown in Figure 1.

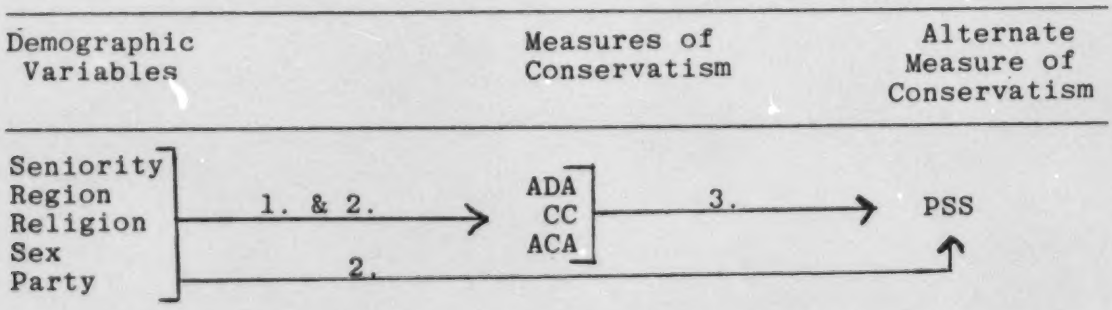

Figure 1. Framework of analytical steps used in the study

SECTION IV

VARIABLES

The variables chosen for this study fall into three (3) categories which were chosen to describe the demographic, ideological, and political characteristics of the 97th Congress. This study will identify the demographic characteristics of each Congressman, and point out any simple groupings which occur due to age, religion, region (by state groupings), and sex of the individual.

Age. This variable was chosen to determine if a Congressman's chronological age has any bearing on his ability to perform in Congress and more importantly if it has any affect on his degree of conservatism within Congress. It is hypothesized that it is probably not the Congressman's age which is a major factor in the legislative process but the Congressman's seniority (number of years in Congress) which would determine his ability to act effectively in Congress.[4]

Religion. The religion variable was chosen to determine if a Congressman's religion has any effect on his degree of conservatism in Congress. In order to effectively utilize the religion variable the different religions were subjectively divided into four (4) categories: (1) "Main Line" Protestants; (2) "Strict Interpretationist" Protestants; (3) Catholics (both Roman and Eastern Orthodox); and (4)

Jewish (both Orthodox and Reformed). By using these "broad" groupings the hypothesized result is that a Congressman's religion substantially affects his position on legislative issues and that, in fact, these four distinct groups act differently and that each group can be characterized in a unique and distinct manner.[5]

Region. The region variable was framed by subdividing the several (50) states into four groups: (1) the South; (2) the East-Northeast; (3) the Midwest; and (4) the West. The assumption for such a division is that, for example, the "South" not only describes a specific geographic area of the country, but more precisely may describe a certain manner of thought of its representatives. The hypothesis is that each of these regions not only has a geographic location in common but, more specifically for our purposes, these geographic divisions may typify a philosophic division among legislators.

The regions are defined as: (1) The South: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia; (2) The East-Northeast: Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and West Virginia; (3) The Midwest: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio,

South Dakota, and Wisconsin; and (4) The West: Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.[6]

Sex. The sex variable was deemed an interesting one to observe. Although the number of females in Congress is relatively few (19 Representatives, three Senators), it was determined to see if the women in Congress had similar voting characteristics.[7]

Ideological groupings. Ideological similarities and groupings are more difficult to determine. Ideological patterns in Congress depend primarily on political alignments, but also may be affected by the type of issue involved. It was determined to use three rating scales in this study to show to what degree a Congressman (or Congress) is considered liberal or conservative. The liberal rating scale is called the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) Score. A 1980 ADA score will be used for comparison purposes in this study. Two separate conservative Congressional rating scales will be used. The first, the ADA counterpart, the Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) Score rates the Congressmen against a conservative scale on selected votes. The second, the Conservative Coalition (CC) Support Score, rates the legislators using a 1981 conservative scale.[8]

As is true with any independent rating scale, such

as the ADA or ACA, potential weaknesses exist and should be recognized. Several arguments have been made questioning the validity and/or objectivity of these rating scales. These arguments include:

1. The ADA and ACA are essentially interest groups. Therefore, the votes they choose to include in their calculations may reflect more than the political orientation of the Senator or Representative.
2. Given the selective process used in choosing which roll call votes to include and the relatively small number of votes used, the rating scales could be biased or skewed in favor of either position, depending upon which scale (ADA/ACA) is involved.
3. These scores (scales) measure only the final vote taken on the floor of the particular house of Congress and fail to represent any work the legislator may have done in committee (separate house or joint). The ADA and ACA ratings also fail to account for the major issues which Congress is unable to deal with in final form on the floor. These ratings are therefore restricted to the agenda the legislators have chosen themselves.[9]

In light of these potential flaws, the ADA and ACA

scores should be used with caution when measuring legislators' attitudes or behaviors as expressed in voting records. However, in spite of these shortcomings, the ADA and ACA scores are commonly used in studying the ideological structure of Congress.

The Conservative Coalition (CC) Score, on the other hand, appears to be less likely to be biased and is considered a more accurate measure of the conservative nature of the legislature. Since this scale is calculated by comparing two ideological groups (SDs and Rs vs. Ds) on any and all votes. This type of rating lacks the bias of the ADA and/or ACA scales.[10]

Political party. To complete this initial demographic analysis, the legislators' political characteristics will be considered. Although the question of how closely a legislator adheres to straight party lines in his opinions and voting depends upon numerous factors, such as type of issue (procedural or substantive), level of issue visibility, level of action visibility, level of state delegate interest, and level of constituent pressure, each Congressman (with the exception of one) is still registered (and elected) as either a Democrat or Republican.[11]

Democrats, however, as a group ideologically vary considerably according to geographic regions. Southern Democrats tend to hold beliefs very similar to those held

by Northern Republicans. It is for this reason that the simple division of Democrats and Republicans is insufficient to explain numerous trends and coalitions within Congress. Therefore, the party variable is the fundamental controlling element used within this study. This variable will consist of three (rather than two) divisions--Democrats (D), Republicans (R), and Southern Democrats (SD). (Note: The Southern Democrat variable (SD) is derived from the combination of region (1 = South, p. 6) and the party (Democrat, above-p. 10) variables. This "contrived" variable is then compared independently against all the rest of Congress (Republicans and the remaining Democrats) for both houses.[12]

Presidential Support Score. The second variable with political overtones is the Presidential Support Score (PSS) which rates each member of Congress according to how supportive or how much in agreement (voting) he is with the President's position on each bill. This variable, although not strictly political--but highly partisan, still depends strongly on the political party affiliation of the President and the Congressman.

Since the data used in this study were drawn after the 1980 presidential election, the PSS is interpreted as a measure of support for President Reagan. Reagan is a conservative Republican President. Therefore, by inference, the PSS during the period of time covered by this study

could be considered a measure of conservatism. An interesting area of analysis can be developed because this situation exists. The PSS can either be directly affected by the demographers (in the same manner as the ADA, ACA, and CC scores were) or there could be an indirect relationship between the demographers and the PSS (e.g. the ADA, ACA, and CC scores, alone or in conjunction with other variables, could affect the PSS) because, under the present administration the PSS is a conservative scale (see Figure 1, p. 4).[13]

Other variables. The third and fourth political variables combine party membership, party power, and the year-elected (seniority) variables to determine first, a legislator's seniority within the party as well as within Congress, and second, the Congressman's major standing committee membership. Seniority is calculated by subtracting the year the legislator was elected from the present year (1981). This gives an absolute scale for the members of the present Congress. Seniority is hypothesized as a more accurate measure of Congressional power than the Congressman's age, therefore the age variable would probably be determined as unnecessary for this study. The Major Standing Committee (MSC) depends upon seniority. It is also a determinant of Congressional power and is quite important.[14] Due to the limitations of time (one semester) of this study, as well as the complexity of analysis of the MSC variable, it was impossible to include this variable in this study.

SECTION V

THEORY

Regression analysis. In order to formulate the sets of conditions which can be used to predict future actions of the members of Congress, it is necessary to identify the relationships which exist between the different demographers. This identification is accomplished through the use of regression analysis. Regression analysis, multiple or simple, is a statistical technique in which one or more independent variables serve as the basis for estimating the value of the dependent variable. This type of analysis is based upon the assumption that there is a linear relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variables.

The main objective behind the use of multiple regression analysis is to estimate the value of the dependent variable and to determine the statistical degree of validity of this estimate. A multiple correlation analysis is also useful to measure the effect of two or more independent variables (treated as a group) on the dependent variable. Multiple correlation analysis makes it possible to determine the relationship between any one of the independent variables and the dependent variable, holding constant statistically all other independent variables.

The form of a linear regression analysis model is:

$Y = a \pm b_1 (x_1) \pm b_2 (x_2) \pm b_3 (x_3) \pm \ldots \pm e$:

Y = value of the dependent variable

a = the constant in the regression analysis

b_1-b_k = regression coefficient associated with each x independent variable

x_1-x_i = value of the independent variable

e = the random error term associated with the sampling process

The remainder of this study will be documented using the statistical findings of the regression analyses. This documentation takes the form of formal regression analysis and therefore each hypothesis will be put into model form, as illustrated above, then the expected results will be hypothesized. The actual results will be reported and any deviation of the actual from the expected results will be noted.[15]

Several questions which helped to refine the very general question of the effect of conservatism in Congress were:

1. Is conservatism in Congress affected by one factor or a combination of factors?
2. To what extent is conservatism a political concept?
3. Does the concept of conservatism vary between the House and the Senate?

4. Under the Reagan administration can PSS be best predicted by the demographic analysis or by other traditional measures (ADA, ACA, or CC)?

SECTION VI

THE GENERAL MODEL

The main problem of this study is: Is conservatism as it exists in Congress, as expressed through the ADA, ACA, and CC scores, affected by demographic, ideological, and political characteristics of the individual Congressmen, acting as a whole in Congress? This primary question refined the problem of conservatism by focusing on the four rating scores: ADA, ACA, CC and PSS as related to seniority, religion, sex, region and party and also as they relate to each other.

Conservatism in Congress depends upon a number of variables, the controlling factor in each model being the party variable. The independent variables in this initial model include seniority, party, religion, region and sex. The original model is:

$$\text{ADA ACA CC PSS} = a \pm b_1 \text{ (seniority)} \pm b_2 \text{ (party)} \pm b_3 \text{ (religion)} \pm b_4 \text{ (region)} \pm b_5 \text{ (sex)}$$

in which

ADA = <u>continuous</u>. Americans for Democratic Action Score. A measure of the ideological position of Senators and Representatives calculated

annually. The ADA computes liberalism scores for each Congressman based on his voting record as compared to the liberal position taken by the ADA. (dependent variable)

ACA = continuous. Americans for Constitutional Action Score. A measure of how ideologically "conservative" a Senator or Representative's position is on selected roll call votes. The ACA computed conservatism scores are calculated annually and the Congressman's voting record is compared to the ACA "conservative" position on each vote. (dependent variable)

CC = continuous. Conservative Coalition Score. The voting alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats as contrasted with Northern Democrats in Congress. Southern Democrats is interpreted as defined in the Congressional Quarterly Almanac (see p. 6 for list of states). The rating scale is determined by how the Northern Republicans and the Southern Democrats within this coalition vote. This is a conservative rating scale, computed annually. (dependent variable)

PSS = continuous. Presidential Support Score. A rating scale which measures to what degree a Congressman supports the President. PSS is a very important variable because it varies with the party in power. For the purposes of this study PSS will be considered another alternative measure of conservatism since President Reagan is in power. (dependent variable)

SENIORITY = continuous. The number of years a Senator or Representative has served in Congress Calculated by subtracting the year the person was elected from the present year (1981). (independent variable)

PARTY = dummy. The political party affiliation of each member of Congress. The Democratic Party is represented by Party = 1; the Republican Party is represented by Party = 2; and the Independents by Party = 3. Since within both houses of Congress there is only one member declaring himself an "Independent" for all intents and purposes this study will consider only the Democrats and Republicans for analysis. For a more detailed analysis the Party variable will be divided into three groups--Democrats,

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Republicans, and Southern Democrats, to better isolate the effects of Party on conservatism. The Party variable will function as the controlling element for each model. (For a discussion of the limitations of these factors see p. 10.) (independent variable)

RELIGION = dummy. The religious affiliation of the members of Congress. In recent years the trend has been for legislators to associate themselves with some organized religious group as a politically advantageous move. Therefore, a Congressman's "religion" may in fact be merely on paper rather than in practice, however this assertion cannot be empirically tested and therefore the religious affiliations claimed will be accepted as valid. The various individual religions were grouped to attempt to cluster similarities within one group. Four groups were established: "Main-line" Protestants = 1; "Strict-Interpretationist" Protestants = 2; Catholics = 3; and Jewish = 4. (independent variable)

REGION = dummy. Geographical area of the United States from which the Senator or Representative comes.

The country was divided into four regions. These are: the South = 1; the East-Northeast = 2; the Midwest = 3; and the West = 4. These areas are fairly evenly represented with the number of states within each being either 12 or 13. (independent variable)

SEX = dummy. Sex of the Congressman. Male = 1 and Female = 0. Although there are only 21 females in Congress (19 Representatives, 2 Senators) it would be interesting to be aware of any trends in which the females form a coalition, regardless of other factors such as party, religion, etc. (independent variable)

Due to the complex structure of the modeling involved, an attempt has been made to explain, as clearly and concisely as possible, the expected and the actual results for each of the two (2) general models, for each of the four (4) dependent variables within each model and for each house of Congress (2), thus making a total of 16 hypotheses tested. It is for this reason that an abbreviated form of the formal regression format statements will be presented. In the adopted abbreviated format individual variations within the model will be noted.

SECTION VII

MODEL I

The first general model is:

$$\text{ADA ACA CC PSS} = a \pm b_1 (\text{SENIOR}) \pm b_2 (\text{PRT 1}) \pm b_3 (\text{RL 1}) \pm b_4 (\text{RL 2}) \pm b_5 (\text{RL 3}) \pm b_6 (\text{RL 4}) \pm b_7 (\text{RG 1}) \pm b_8 (\text{RG 2}) \pm b_9 (\text{SX}).$$

ADA:House. The ADA (liberal) model for the House and the expected results follow:

$$\text{Ho: ADA} \neq a \pm b_1 (\text{SENIOR}) \pm b_2 (\text{PRT 1}) \pm b_3 (\text{RL 1}) \pm b_4 (\text{RL 2}) \pm b_5 (\text{RL 3}) \pm b_6 (\text{RL 4}) \pm b_7 (\text{RG 1}) \pm b_8 (\text{RG 2}) \pm b_9 (\text{SX}).$$

The expected results include:

SENIOR (+) - The more seniority a member of the House of Representatives has, the more liberal his position because he has a more flexible relationship with his constituency. Therefore, as seniority increases the ADA Score should increase. (positive relationship)

PRT 1 (-) - This variable is coded as Republican = 1 and Non-Republicans = 0. It is expected that Republicans (1) are more conservative than Non-Republicans (0), due in part to their pro-business, anti-labor union stance. Therefore a weak ADA Score is expected. (negative relationship)

RL 1 (+) - The religion variable is coded in four different

ways. RL 1, the first division, is coded as Catholics = 1 and Non-Catholics = 0. The expected results are that Catholics (1) will be more liberal than Non-Catholics (0) with the probable exception of the Jewish group. In this comparison there are few Jewish Congressmen, therefore a relatively strong ADA score is expected. (positive relationship)

RL 2 (+) - RL 2, the second division, is coded as Jewish = 1 and Non-Jewish = 0. Even though the Non-Jewish group (0) does include the "liberal" Catholics, the Jewish group is liberal and a strong ADA score is anticipated. However, it is hypothesized that the Catholic group, due to its large size in the data set, will be more significant than the Jewish group. (positive relationship).

RL 3 (-) - RL 3, the third division of the religion variable, is coded as Main-Line Protestants = 1 and all the other denominations = 0. MLPs are expected to be more conservative than either the Jewish or the Catholic groups, therefore a relatively weak ADA score is anticipated. (negative relationship)

RL 4 (-) - RL 4 represents the fourth and final religion variable in which Strict-Interpretationist Protestants (SIP) = 1 and all the other denominations = 0. The SIPs are expected to be the most conservative group in

Congress, and therefore a weak ADA score is anticipated. (negative relationship)

RG 1 (-) - RG 1, the first region variable division, is coded as South = 1 and the rest of the country = 0. The South is expected to be more conservative than the rest of the United States, therefore a weak ADA score is anticipated. (negative relationship)

RG 2 (+) - RG 2, the second regional division, is coded as the West = 1 and the rest of the country = 0. The West is hypothesized to be more liberal than the rest of the country, therefore a strong ADA score is anticipated. (positive relationship)

SX (-) - The sex variable is coded as Males = 1 and Females = 0, therefore since males are anticipated to be more conservative than their female counterparts, a weak ADA score is expected. (negative relationship)

The actual results from this first model for the ADA rating of the House include:

ADA =	56.26	+ 0.25 (SENIOR)	- 36.80 (PRT 1)	+ 14.65 (RL 1)	+ 33.76 (RL 2)	+ 15.37 (RL 3)	+ 15.98 (RL 4)	- 33.10 (RG 1)	+ 1.20 (RG 2)	- 6.90 (SX)
(t-stats)	(6.88)	(1.58)	(-14.96)	(2.37)	(4.45)	(2.59)	(2.39)	(-11.62)	(0.37)	(-1.17)

The F-statistic, degrees of freedom, and r^2 statistic are:

F 45.71 (Pr = .0001)

df 350

r^2 0.5468

From these results it can be concluded that, for the Model I: ADA-House, seniority, sex and the Western region variables are not statistically significant at the .05 level, therefore these variables do not come from the same population as the dependent variable (ADA) and the remaining independent variables [party (R=1); religion 1, 2,3,4; and region 1 (S)]. Despite those variables which are not statistically significant, the overall model is a strong one explaining approximately 55 percent of the total variation in the ADA rating scores. It is interesting to note that most of the explanatory power of the model can be attributed to the party (PRT 1) and region (RG 1) variables. Also the anticipated arithmetic signs of RL 3 and RL 4 are opposite the actual results. This could be due in part to a degree of multicollinearity among the religion variables. The null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

ADA:Senate. The ADA model for the Senate and the expected results for Model I follow. The Model in the null hypothesis form is:

$$\text{Ho: ADA} \neq a \pm b_1 (\text{SENIOR}) \pm b_2 (\text{PRT 1}) \pm b_3 (\text{RL 1}) \pm b_4 (\text{RL 2}) \pm b_5 (\text{RL 3}) \pm b_6 (\text{RL 4}) \pm b_7 (\text{RG 1}) \pm b_8 (\text{RG 2}) \pm b_9 (\text{SX}).$$

The expected results for the Senate duplicate those of the House (already explained in detail above) with the only variation being one of the magnitude of the effects of the

variables within the model. In keeping with the original intent of the Senate as set up by the Founding Fathers, Senators are partially immune to the direct effects of constituent pressure and also internal pressure from within that house of Congress itself.

The actual results for this model (ADA) for the Senate are somewhat startling. The actual model is:

ADA	= 79.41	-0.22 (SENIOR)	- 35.22 (PRT 1)	- 3.73 (RL 1)	
(t-stats)	(3.95)	(-0.82)	(-7.87)	(-0.41)	
	- 4.09 (RL 2)	+ 0.46 (RL 3)	+ 13.02 (RL 4)		
	(-0.34)	(0.06)	(1.24)		
	- 23.32 (RG 1)	- 8.96 (RG 2)	- 8.90 (SX)		
	(-4.25)	(-1.84)	(-0.48)		

The F-statistic, degrees of freedom, and r^2 statistic for the model are:

F	10.52 (Pr = .0001)
df	85
r^2	0.5547

These results indicate that the only significant variables are that of party (PRT 1) and region (RG 1). One (hypothesized) reason for this could be that because the magnitude of each variable is expected to be less, the variables are not defined with sufficient specificity to detect subtle variations which could exist. The null hypothesis is rejected, inferring that there is a relationship between the dependent variable (ADA) and the independent variables. The model is strong, 55 percent of the variation being explained.

ACA:House. The ACA (conservative) model for the House and the expected results follow:

Ho: $ACA \neq a \pm b_1 (SENIOR) \pm b_2 (PRT\ 1) \pm b_3 (RL\ 1) \pm b_4 (RL\ 2) \pm b_5 (RL\ 3) \pm b_6 (RL\ 4) \pm b_7 (RG\ 1) \pm b_8 (RG\ 2) \pm b_9 (SX)$

The expected results should be the opposite for those predicted for the ADA factor (see pp. 19-21). The rationale for the expected results for the variables remains the same with only the expected outcomes being different (reversed). The expected results are:

SENIOR - The more seniority a member of the House of Rep-
(-) resentatives has, the more liberal his position because he has a more flexible relationship with his constituency. Therefore, as seniority increases the ACA Score should decrease. (negative relationship)

PRT 1 - This variable is coded as Republican = 1 and Non-
(+) Republican = 0. It is expected that Republicans (1) are more conservative than Non-Republicans (0), due in part to their pro-business, anti-labor union stance. Therefore, a strong ACA Score is expected. (positive relationship)

RL 1 - The religion variable is coded in four different
(-) ways. RL 1, the first division, is coded as Catholics = 1 and Non-Catholics = 0. The expected results are that Catholics (1) will be more liberal than Non-Catholics (0) with the probable exception of the

Jewish group. In this comparison there are few Jewish Congressmen, therefore a relatively weak ACA score is expected. (negative relationship)

RL 2 (-) - RL 2, the second division, is coded as Jewish = 1 and Non-Jewish = 0. Even though the Non-Jewish group (0) does include the "liberal" Catholics, the Jewish group is liberal and a weak ACA score is anticipated. However, it is hypothesized that the Catholic group, due to its large size in the data set, will be more significant than the Jewish group. (negative relationship)

RL 3 (+) - RL 3, the third division of the religion variable, is coded as Main-Line Protestants = 1 and all the other denominations = 0. MLPs are expected to be more conservative than either the Jewish or the Catholic groups, therefore a relatively strong ACA score is anticipated. (positive relationship)

RL 4 (+) - RL 4 represents the fourth and final religion variable in which Strict-Interpretationist Protestants (SIP) = 1 and all the other denominations = 0. The SIPs are expected to be the most conservative group in Congress, therefore a strong ACA score is anticipated. (positive relationship)

RG 1 (+) - RG 1, the first region variable division, is coded as South = 1 and the rest of the country = 0.

The South is expected to be more conservative than the rest of the United States, therefore a strong ACA score is expected. (positive relationship)

RG 2 (-) - RG 2, the second regional variable, is coded as the West = 1 and the rest of the country = 0. The West is hypothesized to be more liberal than the rest of the country, therefore a weak ACA score is anticipated. (negative relationship)

SX (+) - The sex variable is coded as Males = 1 and Females = 0, therefore since males are anticipated to be more conservative than their female counterparts, a strong ACA score is expected. (positive relationship)

The actual results from this first model for the ACA rating for the House include:

ACA	= 35.76	- 0.38 (SENIOR)	+ 44.84 (PRT 1)	
(t-stats)	(6.10)	(-3.33)	(25.43)	
- 13.29 (RL 1)	- 19.67 (RL 2)	- 9.90 (RL 3)		
(-3.00)	(-3.62)	(-2.33)		
- 9.90 (RL 4)	+ 18.83 (RG 1)	+ 3.56 (RG 2)	+ 2.81 (SX)	
(-2.06)	(9.22)	(1.52)	(0.66)	

The F-statistic, degrees of freedom, and r^2 statistic are:

F 93.06 (Pr = .0001)

df 350

r^2 .7107

It is concluded from these results that the Western region (RG 2) and the sex variables (SX) are not statistically significant at the .05 level. The remaining independent

variables were significant and did contribute to the overall model, explaining approximately 71 percent of the total variation in the ACA scores in the House. Again it should be noted that the majority of the explanatory power of this model is distributed between the party (PRT 1) and the Southern region (RG 1) variables. The RL 3 and RL 4 variables (Protestants) had signs opposite those predicted. It would appear that, for the most part, all four religion variables (RL 1, RL 2, RL 3, RL 4) react in the same way in each model. This would indicate that perhaps it is not the division in the religion variables which produces any variation, but that the religion variables, analyzed in coalitions (i.e. Jewish and Catholic vs. the two protestant divisions) would produce some effect. The actual results indicate that, at least in the House, this phenomenon does occur and, in fact, the religion variable is a determinant of liberalism. The null hypothesis is rejected based on the F-statistic and r^2 statistic which indicate the relative strength of the model.

ACA:Senate. The ACA (conservative) model for the Senate and the expected results follow:

Ho: $ACA \neq a \pm b_1 (SENIOR) \pm b_2 (PRT\ 1) \pm b_3 (RL\ 1)$
$\pm b_4 (RL\ 2) \pm b_5 (RL\ 3) \pm b_6 (RL\ 4) \pm b_7 (RG\ 1)$
$\pm b_8 (RG\ 2) \pm b_9 (SX)$.

The expected results for the Senate duplicate those for the

House (already explained in detail above, pp.24-26) with the only variation being one of the magnitude of the effects of the variables within the model. In keeping with the original intent of the Senate as set up by the Founding Fathers, Senators are partially immune to the direct effects of constituent pressure and also internal pressure from within that house of Congress itself. Presented below are abbreviated expectancy statements for the ADA dependent variable for the Senate. (For complete statements see pp. 24-26.)

The expected results are:

SENIOR (-) - As seniority increases the ACA score should decrease. (negative relationship)

PRT 1 (+) - A strong ACA score is expected (positive relationship)

RL 1 (-) - A relatively weak ACA score is expected. (negative relationship)

RL 2 (-) - A weak ACA score is anticipated. (negative relationship)

RL 3 (-) - Since the religion variables seem to be acting as a group (liberal determinant) I would anticipate a relatively weak ACA score. (negative relationship)

RL 4 (-) - Again, as a group, this variable is anticipated to have a weak ACA score. (negative relationship)

RG 1 (+) - A strong ACA score is anticipated. (positive relationship)

RG 2 (-) - A weak ACA score is anticipated. (negative relationship)

SX (+) A strong ACA score is expected. (positive relationship)

The actual results from this first model for the ACA rating of the Senate include:

ACA	= 23.29	- 0.08 (SENIOR)	+ 50.09 (PRT 1)	
(t-stats)	(1.25)	(-0.34)	(12.10)	
	- 2.96 (RL 1)	+ 14.57 (RL 2)	- 3.13 (RL 3)	
	(-0.35)	(1.31)	(-0.42)	
	- 15.50 ((RL 4)	+ 24.97 (RG 1)	+ 16.35 (RG 2)	
	(-1.59)	(4.92)	(3.62)	
	- 4.55 (SX)			
	(-0.27)			

The F-statistic, degrees of freedom, and r^2 statistic for this model are:

F	24.29 (Pr. = .0001)
df	85
r^2	.7420

The results indicate that the only significant variables are that of party (PRT 1) and region (both RG 1 and RG 2). One (hypothesized) reason for this could be that because the magnitude for each variable is expected to be less, the variables are not defined with sufficient specificity to detect subtle variances which could exist. The model is still a valid one (due to the F-statistic and the r^2 term) and the null hypothesis is rejected at the .05 level.

CC:House. Due to the high degree of correlation among the dependent variables (see Table 1, p. 57) the CC and PSS rating scales react in the same manner as the ACA scale did in the model presented above. Each hypothesis will be presented separately but the expectancy statements will be abbreviated for the sake of expediency. (For complete statements see pp. 24-26.)

The CC (conservative) model for the House and the expected results follow:

Ho: $CC \neq a \pm b_1$ (SENIOR) $\pm b_2$ (PRT 1) $\pm b_3$ (RL 1) $\pm b_4$ (RL 2) $\pm b_5$ (RL 3) $\pm b_6$ (RL 4) $\pm b_7$ (RG 1) $\pm b_8$ (RG 2) $\pm b_9$ (SX).

SENIOR (-) - As seniority increases the CC score should decrease. (negative relationship)

PRT 1 (+) - A strong CC score is expected. (positive relationship)

RL 1 (-) - A relatively weak CC score is expected. (negative relationship)

RL 2 (-) - A weak CC score is anticipated. (negative relationship)

RL 3 (-) - A relatively weak CC score is anticipated (see also p. 28). (negative relationship)

RL 4 (-) - This group is expected to have a weak CC score. (negative relationship)

RG 1 (+) - A strong CC score is anticipated. (positive relationship)

RG 2 (-) - A weak CC score is anticipated. (negative relationship)

SX (+) - A strong CC score is expected. (positive relationship)

The actual results from this first model for the CC rating for the House include:

CC = 37.03 - 0.41 (SENIOR) + 37.92 (PRT 1)
(t-stat) (5.26) (-3.08) (18.60)

- 10.23 (RL 1) - 24.72 (RL 2) - 8.53 (RL 3)
(-1.92) (-3.86) (-1.65)

- 8.32 (RL 4) + 30.52 (RG 1) + 0.25 (RG 2)
(-1.44) (12.67) (0.09)

+ 6.62 (SX)
(1.37)

The F-statistic, degrees of freedom, and r^2 statistic are:

F 67.06 (Pr = .0001)

df 424

r^2 .5926

From these results it can be concluded that, for the Model I: CC-House, religion (RL 1, RL 3, RL 4), sex and the Western region (RG 2) are not statistically significant at the .05 level, therefore these variables do not come from the same population as the dependent variable (CC) and the remaining independent variables party (R=1), religion (RL 2), seniority, and region (RG 1) South . Despite those variables which are not statistically significant, the overall model is a strong one explaining approximately 59 percent of the total variation in the CC rating scores. It is interesting to note that most of the explanatory power of the model can

be attributed to the party (PRT 1) and region (RG 1) variables. Also, as is expected in the House, the CC rating scale is almost an equal mixture of region and party influence. Seniority also deserves mention because of the large number of Freshmen Republicans in the House (possibly Reagan "coattail" effect). The seniority variable acts in a negative way. The null hypothesis is rejected at the .05 level. There is a relationship between the dependent variable (CC) and the independent variables (considered as a group).

CC:Senate. The CC (conservative) model for the Senate and the expected results for Model 1 follow. The Model in the null hypothesis form is:

$$Ho: CC \neq a \pm b_1 (SENIOR) \pm b_2 (PRT\ 1) \pm b_3 (RL\ 1) \pm b_4 (RL\ 2) \pm b_5 (RL\ 3) \pm b_6 (RL\ 4) \pm b_7 (RG\ 1) \pm b_8 (RG\ 2) \pm b_9 (SX).$$

The expected results for the Senate duplicate those of the House (already explained in detail above, pp. 30-31) with the only variation being one of the magnitude of the effects of the variables within the model, because Senators are partially immune to the effects of constituent pressure and also internal pressure from within that house of Congress itself.

The actual results of this model (CC) for the Senate follow. The actual model is:

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
CC & = 18.50 & -0.33\ (SENIOR) + 36.08\ (PRT\ 1) \\
(t\text{-stat}) & (1.23) & (-1.25) \qquad\quad (8.44)
\end{array}
$$

$$
\begin{array}{l}
-\ 2.74\ (RL\ 1) + 5.68\ (RL\ 2) + 8.20\ (RL\ 3) \\
\quad (-0.30) \qquad\quad (0.50) \qquad\quad (1.02)
\end{array}
$$

$$
\begin{array}{l}
-\ 7.73\ (RL\ 4) + 32.99\ (RG\ 1) + 14.09\ (RG\ 2) \\
\quad (-0.73) \qquad\quad (6.64) \qquad\quad (2.86)
\end{array}
$$

$$
\begin{array}{l}
+\ 7.62\ (SX) \\
\quad (0.52)
\end{array}
$$

The F-statistic, degrees of freedom, and r^2 statistic for the model are:

F	16.99 (Pr = .0001)
df	99
r^2	.6295

These results indicate that the only significant variables are that of party (PRT 1) and region (RG 1 and RG 2). One (hypothesized) reason for this could be that because the magnitude of each variable is expected to be less, the variables are not defined with sufficient specificity to detect subtle variations which could exist. Again, the relative equality between party and region can be hypothesized an a unique quality of the CC score. The null hypothesis is again rejected at the .05 level of significance. This is a strong model and 66 percent of the variation in the rating scores can be explained by the combination of the variables examined.

PSS:House. Because President Reagan is a conservative Republican President, it can be expected that the PSS will behave very much like the ACA and CC scores. Due to the high degree of positive correlation among these three dependent variables (ACA, CC, PSS; see Table 1, p. 57), the expectancy statements will be duplicates of those listed for the ACA:House and the CC:House (pp. 24-26 and pp. 30-31). One possible exception might be the Western region variable (RG 2) which could be expected to be more conservative on Presidential Support (PSS) because Reagan came from California and the large number of Freshmen Representatives from the West (Reagan "coattail" effect). (positive relationship)

The PSS (conservative) model for the House and the expected results follow:

Ho: $PSS \neq a \pm b_1 (SENIOR) \pm b_2 (PRT\ 1) \pm b_3 (RL\ 1) \pm b_4 (RL\ 2) \pm b_5 (RL\ 3) \pm b_6 (RL\ 4) \pm b_7 (RG\ 1) \pm b_8 (RG\ 2) \pm b_9 (SX)$.

The expected results include:

SENIOR - As seniority increases the PSS score should (-) decrease. (negative relationship)

PRT 1 - A strong PSS score is expected. (positive (+) relationship)

RL 1 - A relatively weak PSS score is expected. (negative (-) relationship)

RL 2 - A weak PSS score is anticipated. (negative (-) relationship)

RL 3 (-) - A relatively weak PSS score is anticipated (see also p. 28). (negative relationship)

RL 4 (-) - This group is expected to have a weak PSS score. (negative relationship)

RG 1 (+) - A strong PSS score is anticipated. (positive relationship)

RG 2 (+) - A stronger PSS score is anticipated. (positive relationship)

SX (+) - A strong PSS score is expected. (positive relationship)

The actual results for the first model for the PSS score for the House include:

PSS	= 45.18	- 0.12 (SENIOR)	+ 25.60 (PRT 1)	
(t-stat)	(13.20)	(-1.84)	(25.82)	
- 8.14 (RL 1)	- 14.56 (RL 2)	- 6.81 (RL 3)		
(-3.13)	(-4.71)	(-2.71)		
- 7.92 (RL 4)	+ 14.77 (RG 1)	+ 2.85 (RG 2)		
(-2.82)	(12.60)	(2.14)		
+ 1.17 (SX)				
(0.50)				

The F-statistic, degrees of freedom, and r^2 for the model are:

F	104.89 (Pr = .0001)
df	424
r^2	.6946

As hypothesized the Western region (RG 2) variable is statistically significant and the sign did change to

positive. Sex and seniority were the only two variables not statistically significant. The model is a strong one with 69 percent of the variation in PSS rating scores being explained. Also, party affiliation is by far the most powerful of the explanatory variables. This appears to be quite logical, given the partisan nature of the Presidential Support Score. The null hypothesis is rejected at the .05 level of significance.

PSS:Senate. The PSS (conservative) model for the Senate for Model I follows. The model is in the null hypothesis form.

$$H_o: PSS \neq a \pm b_1 (SENIOR) \pm b_2 (PRT\ 1) \pm b_3 (RL\ 1) \pm b_4 (RL\ 2) \pm b_5 (RL\ 3) \pm b_6 (RL\ 4) \pm b_7 (RG\ 1) \pm b_8 (RG\ 2) \pm b_9 (SX).$$

The expected results for the Senate are the same as those for the House with regard to the PSS scores. These statements are presented above (see pp. 34-35), with the only noticeable variation occuring in the magnitude of the effects of the variables within the model.

The actual results of this model (PSS) for the Senate follow. The actual model is:

PSS	= 45.99	- 0.05 (SENIOR)	+ 30.47 (PRT 1)	- 5.81 (RL 1)				
(t-stat)	(7.40)	(-0.41)	(17.26)	(-1.56)				
	- 1.07 (RL 2)	+ 0.01 (RL 3)	- 5.76 (RL 4)	+ 11.23 (RG 1)				
	(-0.23)	(0.00)	(-1.32)	(5.47)				
	+ 4.24 (RG 2)	+ 1.14 (SX)						
	(2.08)	(0.19)						

The F-statistic, degrees of freedom, and r^2 statistic are:

F	45.95 (Pr = .0001)
df	99
r^2	.8213

The only variables in this model which were significant at the .05 level were party (PRT 1) and the two region variables (RG 1 and RG 2). Again the party variable provided most of the explanatory power of this model. The model is very strong with an 82 percent validity (r^2) term. The null hypothesis is rejected at the .05 level of significance.

Respecification. The research design called for a respecification, coding the Southern Democrats[16] within the Party variable (PRT 3) as the controlling element of the second respecification. It is impossible to report the results of this analysis as the program failed to function due to programmer error (mea culpa).

Table 1. Correlation Matrix for the Dependent Variables: House

Variable	ADA	ACA	CC	PSS
ADA	1.00000	-0.85550	-0.92842	-0.86347
(n)	355	355	355	354
ACA	-0.85550	1.00000	0.84291	0.85513
(n)	355	355	355	354
CC	-0.92842	0.84291	1.00000	0.89637
(n)	355	355	429	428
PSS	-0.86347	0.85513	0.89637	1.00000
(n)	354	354	428	429

Table 2. Correlation Matrix for the Dependent Variables: Senate

Variable	ADA	ACA	CC	PSS
ADA	1.00000	-0.88348	-0.83545	-0.77645
(n)	86	86	86	86
ACA	-0.88348	1.00000	0.84736	0.85606
(n)	86	86	86	86
CC	-0.83545	0.84736	1.00000	0.85300
(n)	86	86	100	100
PSS	-0.77645	0.85606	0.85300	1.00000
(n)	86	86	100	100

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable: ADA Ex	ADA Ob	ACA Ex	ACA Ob	CC Ex	CC Ob	PSS Ex	PSS Ob
SENIOR	+	+	-	-*	-	-*	-	-
PRT 1 (R)	-	-*	+	+*	+	+*	+	+*
RL 1 (C)	+	+*	-	-*	-	-	-	-*
RL 2 (J)	+	+*	-	-*	-	-*	-	-*
RL 3 (MLP)	-	+*	+	-*	-	-	-	-*
RL 4 (SIP)	-	+*	+	-*	-	-	-	-*
RG 1 (S)	-	-*	+	+*	+	+*	+	+*
RG 2 (W)	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+*
SX (M)	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

*Statistically significant at .05 level (t-stat)

Figure 2. Summary of Expected and Observed Arithmetic Sign Relationships for Model I - House

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable: ADA Ex	ADA Ob	ACA Ex	ACA Ob	CC Ex	CC Ob	PSS Ex	PSS Ob
SENIOR	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PRT 1 (R)	-	-*	+	+*	+	+*	+	+*
RL 1 (C)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RL 2 (J)	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
RL 3 (MLP)	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
RL 4 (SIP)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
RG 1 (S)	-	-*	+	+*	+	+*	+	+*
RG 2 (W)	+	-	-	+*	-	+*	+	+*
SX (M)	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+

*Statistically significant at .05 level (t-stat)

Figure 3. Summary of Expected and Observed Arithmetic Sign Relationships for Model I - Senate

Table 3. t-values for Model I - Both House and Senate

Independent Variable	House	Dependent Variable ADA t	ACA t	CC t	PSS t
SENIOR	H	1.58	-3.33*	-3.08*	-1.84
	S	-0.82	-0.34	-1.25	-0.41
PRT 1 (R)	H	-14.96*	25.43*	18.60*	25.82*
	S	-7.87*	12.10*	8.44*	17.26*
REL 1 (C)	H	2.37*	-3.00*	-1.92	-3.13
	S	-0.41	-0.35	-0.30	-1.56
REL 2 (J)	H	4.45*	-3.62*	-3.86*	-4.71*
	S	-0.34	1.31	0.50	-0.23
REL 3 (MLP)	H	2.59*	-2.33*	-1.65	-2.71*
	S	0.06	-0.42	1.02	0.00
REL 4 (SIP)	H	2.39*	-2.06*	-1.44	-2.82*
	S	1.24	-1.59	-0.73	-1.32
RG 1 (S)	H	-11.62*	9.22*	12.67*	12.60*
	S	-4.25*	4.92*	6.64*	5.47*
RG 2 (W)	H	0.37	1.52	0.09	2.14*
	S	-1.84	3.62*	2.86*	2.08*
SX (M)	H	-1.17	0.66	1.37	0.50
	S	-0.48	-0.27	0.52	0.19

*Statistically significant at .05 level

SECTION VIII

PART II OF STUDY

The second part of this study consists of taking the three independent measures of liberalism and conservatism (ADA, ACA, CC) and determining to what degree these scales are a function of Presidential support (see Figure 1, p. 4). The general model is:

$$ADA\ ACA\ CC = a \pm b_1 (PSS)$$

Considering each regression separately, each analysis is then a simple regression attempting to determine which measure of conservatism or liberalism is the best predictor of Presidential support. As has been the pattern throughout this entire study both houses of Congress will be considered separately, with null hypotheses presented in each case.

ADA:House The ADA (liberal) model for the House, and the expected results are:

Ho: $ADA \neq a \pm b_1 (PSS)$

The expected results include:

PSS (-) - The higher the PSS score the more conservative the legislator's position, the lower the expected ADA score. (negative relationship)

The actual results are:

ADA	= 128.06	- 1.60	(PSS)
(t-stats)	(46.54)	(-32.12)	

The F-statistic, degrees of freedom, and r^2 statistic are:

F 1031.54 (Pr = .0001)

df 353

r^2 .7456

The actual results are exactly as expected. The Presidential Support Score (PSS) during the present (Reagan) administration represents a determinant of conservatism. Therefore there should be a highly negative relationship between PSS and ADA scores. This model substantiates the assumption. The model explains 75 percent of the variation among PSS rating scores. The null hypothesis is rejected at the .05 level of significance.

ADA:Senate. The ADA (liberal) model for the Senate and the expected results are:

Ho: $ADA \neq a \pm b_1 (PSS)$

The expected result is exactly the same as that of the House model but the magnitude of the result should be less. (negative relationship)

The actual model is:

ADA = 114.97 - 1.11 (PSS)
(t-stat) (17.66) (-11.29)

The F-statistic, degrees of freedom, and r^2 statistic for this model are:

F 127.52 (Pr = .0001)

df 85

r^2 .6029

As predicted the PSS value was significant within the model but to a lesser degree than in the House model. Approximately 60 percent of the variation within the model is explained by the r^2 statistic. This is a relatively strong model and the null hypothesis is rejected.

ACA:House. The ACA (conservative) model and expected results for the House are:

Ho: ACA $\neq a \pm b_1$ (PSS)

The expected result is:

PSS (+) - The PSS during the Reagan Administration represents an alternative measure of conservatism, therefore its relationship should be highly positive. A strong ACA score is anticipated. (positive relationship)

The actual results are:

ACA	=	- 26.76	+ 1.42 (PSS)
(t-stat)		(-10.62)	(30.95)

The F-statistic, degrees of freedom, and r^2 statistic are:

F 957.79 (Pr = .0001)

df 353

r^2 .7313

The PSS value was indeed significant in this analysis and also positive. The model's explanatory power is 73 percent of the total variation. The null hypothesis is rejected at the .05 level of significance.

ACA:Senate. The ACA (conservative) model for the Senate and the expected results are:

Ho: $ACA \neq a \pm b_1 (PSS)$

The expected results for the Senate duplicate those for the House presented above (see p. 62).

The actual results are:

ACA	=	- 45.47	+ 1.49 (PSS)
(t-stat)		(-7.01)	(15.18)

The F-statistic, degrees of freedom, and r^2 statistic are:

F 230.41 (Pr = .0001)

df 85

r^2 .7328

Again, a positive relationship is shown (as predicted) and as usual for the Senate the results are not as strong (e.g.muted). The null hypothesis is rejected at the .05 level of significance because of the relative strength of the model as illustrated through the F-statistic and the r^2 statistic (73 per cent of the variation explained).

CC:House. The CC (conservative) model for the House and the expected results are:

Ho: $CC \neq a \pm b_1 (PSS)$

The expected results are:

PSS (+) - Since the CC appears to be the strongest indicator of conservatism, a very high PSS is expected. (positive relationship)

The actual results are:

CC = - 29.62 + 1.59 (PSS)
(t-stat) (-13.76) (41.73)

The F-statistic, degrees of freedom, and r^2 statistic are:

F 1741.74 (Pr = .0001)

df 427

r^2 .8035

As predicted, the actual result for the PSS relationship is highly positive and the model is very strong with 80 percent of the variation within the model being explained. The null hypothesis is rejected at the .05 level.

CC:Senate. The CC (conservative) model and expected results for the Senate include:

Ho: $CC \neq a \pm b_1$ (PSS)

The expected results for CC:Senate duplicate those for CC:House (see. p. 65). A relatively positive relationship is expected.

The actual results are:

CC = - 34.89 + 1.43 (PSS)
(t-stat) (-5.80) (16.18)

The F-statistic, degrees of freedom, and r^2 statistic are:

F 261.77 (Pr = .0001)

df 99

r^2 .7276

This model is a strong one with 72 percent of the variation explained. The null hypothesis is rejected at

the .05 level of significance, indicating that there is a relationship between the CC and the PSS.

Caution. A degree of caution should be observed when interpreting the statistics from this section. The ACA, ADA, and CC measures are influenced by a number of different factors, several of which were analyzed in Section VII (Model I). Therefore, these rating scales do not exist in and of themselves, but are composed of numerous factors, subjectively arrived at, acting in combination. Also, due to the fact that these four measures of conservatism and liberalism are highly correlated among themselves (see Tables 1 and 2, p. 38), conclusions drawn from these models are open to question.

SECTION IX

SUMMARY

Background. Ronald Reagan assumed the duties and responsibilities of President of the United States after the November 4, 1980 election because the American people had decided, at the polls, that the distrust and disillusionment of the Carter years must come to an end. The campaign slogan "Vote Republican. For a change." captured the sentiments of voter discontent and resulted in a nationwide Republican sweep. Due to this "change trend," for the first time in 30 years the United States Senate was under Republican control. GOP gains were substantial, claiming 33 seats in the House, 12 seats in the Senate and four (4) governorships. The change had taken place and the nation was directed on a new course under a new set of leaders.

Purpose. The purpose of this study was to describe the effects of conservatism on the 97th United States Congress, which is composed of members elected in the November, 1980 election. An attempt was made to accurately describe this Congress in terms of interactive factors by establishing sets of empirical conditions based on selected demographic factors and separate independent scales of measurement of Congressional action.

Framework. The basic framework within which this study was conducted used the guidelines of the conservative/liberal

cleavage on the one hand and the factor of Presidential support on the other. The variables used to obtain a description of Congress were used to analyze the liberal/conservative dichotomy.

Measures. The different measures of conservatism/liberalism included voting analyses made by the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA), and the Conservative Coalition (CC). The first part of the description attempted to identify how each measure differed and the interrelationships involved. The second part was a determination of the effect of the demographic variables (seniority, party, religion, region and sex) contributed to eacn of the measures of conservatism (ADA, ACA, CC) and their relationship to Presidential support (PSS) in Congress. Finally, an attempt was made to determine which of the three (3) measures of conservatism (ADA, ACA, CC) was the best predictor of the PSS. (For a complete discussion see pp. 3-4, also Figure 1, p. 4.)

Variables. The variables chosen for use with this study were demographic, ideological and political. The dependent variables were measures obtained from voting analyses of ADA, ACA, CC and PSS. The independent variables were seniority, party, religion, region and sex. (For a complete description of these variables see pp. 5-7.) A special note concerning the region variable: The "South"

as coded in this study was determined by the Conservative Coalition's definition, the remaining states were then divided into three almost equal regions. A complete regional breakdown of this variable, together with two other variations used by Shaffer and Clausen, is found in Appendix A, p. 59.

Limitations. Several limitations concerning the use of the ADA, ACA, and CC rating scales were given. In brief the arguments included:

1. The ADA and ACA are interest groups and the votes they choose may reflect more than the political orientation of the legislators.
2. The rating scales may be skewed or biased, given the selection process of the roll call votes included.
3. These ratings are restricted to roll call votes and fail to take into consideration or measure any position taken on issues in committee.

(For a complete discussion of the limitations see pp. 7-9.)

Analytical techniques. Multiple and simple regression analyses techniques were used to identify the relationships which existed between the different factors analyzed.The objective behind the use of these techniques was to estimate the value of the dependent variables and to determine the statistical validity of the estimates. Expected and actual results for each model were reported and deviations noted.

Refinement. The very general question of the effect of conservatism in Congress was refined by developing several specific questions. Based on the findings of this study, the answers to those questions are:

1. Is conservatism in Congress affected by one factor or a combination of factors?

Conservatism in Congress is affected by a combination of factors. Within the parameters of this study, an attempt was made to specify which set of factors produced statistically significant results. It would appear that political party and the "South" provided most of the explanatory power of the models.

2. To what extent is conservatism a political concept?

The findings of this study indicate that conservatism is a political concept and highly susceptible to partisan ideology. (See Figures 2 and 3, p. 39, for summary of the results of the regression analyses in which the party variable was a strong determinant of conservatism as measured by the ADA, ACA, CC, and PSS rating scales.)

3. Does the concept of conservatism vary between the House and the Senate?

The concept of conservatism varies considerably between the House and the Senate. Within this study the findings reaffirmed the initial expectation that the House is more susceptible to influence from within the body of Congress

as well as from external forces. The Senate is partially immune to these influences. The relative magnitude of the differences in susceptibility is shown by the magnitude of the t-statistic for each variable. (See Table 3, p. 40.)

4. Under the Reagan administration can PSS be best predicted by the demographic analyses or by other traditional measures (ADA, ACA or CC)?

The ADA, ACA and CC rating scales cannot be used independently to predict PSS because these variables are themselves composed of demographic, ideological and political components. It is for this reason that selected variables identified in Figure 1 (p. 4) are more specific and accurate predictors of PSS than the ADA, ACA and CC scores.

SECTION XI

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions which are derived from this study are:

1. The party variable was statistically significant with regard to the ADA, ACA, CC and PSS rating scales in all models run. Party affiliation did affect conservatism and liberalism in the 97th Congress. The ADA, ACA, CC and PSS are partisan measures, therefore it should be noted

that these rating scales may be biased or skewed. (See Figures 2 and 3, p. 39 and Table 3, p. 40.)

2. The "Southern" region, as defined for this study, did provide a pronounced effect in the models. This variable (RG 1) provided a strongly positive relationship with the ACA, CC and PSS measures of conservatism, indicating an ideologically conservative position. This variable was statistically significant in all models. (See Figures 2 and 3, p. 39 and Table 3, p. 40.)

3. The Western region variable (RG 2) was statistically significant in the Senate for the ACA, CC and PSS, showing a positive conservative relationship. In the House the Western region was only statistically significant in the PSS model, with a positive conservative relationship. (See Figures 2 and 3, p. 39 and Table 3, p. 40.)

4. The religion variables, as defined for this study, showed no statistically significant relationships in the Senate. The results were confounded in the House. (See Figures 2 and 3, p. 39 and Table 3, p. 40.)

5. Seniority has no significance in the Senate, and where statistically significant in the House (ACA, CC) showed a negative relationship, exemplifying a liberal position (as hypothesized). (See Figures 2 and 3, p. 39 and Table 3, p. 40.)

6. The dependent variables ADA, ACA, CC and PSS,

are highly correlated, indicating a high degree of overlap between the variables. The second part of this study attempted to determine where this overlap occurred, but was unsuccessful. (See Tables 1-2, p. 38 and Section VIII, pp. 41-46.)

7. Visual inspection revealed that the magnitude of the effects that demographic variables had on the dependent variables was more pronounced in the House than in the Senate. (See Table 3, p. 40.)

SECTION XI

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The next logical steps in continuing this study are:

1. The Southern Democrat party variable must be recoded and the third part of the original study completed. Then, by regrouping the Southern Democrats and the Northern Republicans, and analysis of the Conservative Coalition can be made.

2. The regional variable needs to be redefined. There appear to be two alternatives for this. The first consists of incorporating the remaining two regions (MW and ENE) of the original study's breakdown (See Table 5, p. 56). The second alternative is to replicate the work of Shaffer,[17] Clausen,[18] or Rieselbach.[19] The second alternative appears to be preferable as comparisons can then be made between the 97th Congress and previous studies.

3. It would be interesting to identify the Freshmen Congressmen and analyze their behavior by party to determine the existence or magnitude of the Reagan "coattail" effect and Presidential support.

4. Investigate the area of membership on Major Standing Committees by selecting a reasonable number of them (see Fenno and Bailey) and determining the influence of the selected variables on this membership.[20]

Footnotes

1. The background information for this introduction was drawn from Congressional Quarterly Weekly Reports,v. 38: "Unpredictable Presidential Race Nears Finish," (November 1, 1980), pp. 3231-3233; "Congressional Factions Seek Power Balance," (November 15, 1980), pp. 3362-3366; "National Mood for Change Boosted Republican Ticket," (November 15, 1980), pp. 3370-3371.

2. In this study the masculine form of the pronoun or noun will be used to refer to all members of Congress regardless of sex.

3. These data were obtained from a class handout provided in the course "American Congress," Spring Semester, 1982, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana, taught by L. John Roos (spirit master).

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. For a complete discussion of region see the following works: Aage R. Clausen, How Congressmen Decide; A Policy Focus, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973, pp. 160-161; William R. Shaffer, Party Ideology in the United States Congress, Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1980, pp. 95ff, 137ff, 177ff, 209ff, 249ff, and 289ff; Leroy N. Rieselbach, "The Demography of the Congressional Vote on Foreign Aid," American Political Science Review, 58(September, 1964), p. 578-579. Additional data in tabular form are presented on the next page.

7. op. cit., Roos.

8. op. cit., Shaffer, Chapter 2, pp. 47-92.

9. Ibid., pp. 31-36.

10. op. cit., Congressional Quarterly Almanac, p. 120ff.

11. Taken from class notes of March 4, 1982, "American Congress," University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana, taught by L. John Roos.

12. op. cit., Shaffer, p. 136.

13. Discussion with L. John Roos and William Davisson on or about April 21, 1982, in Davisson's office, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana.

14. Richard F. Fenno, Jr., Congressmen in Committee, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973; Stephen K. Bailey, Congress in the Seventies, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970, pp. 50-62.

Table 4. Region Variable Identification for the Study Compared with Clausen and Shaffer

St.[a]	M'shp House	Cl.[b]	Sh.[c]	DV[d]	St.[a]	M'shp House	Cl.[b]	Sh.[c]	DV[d]
AL	7	S	S	S	MT	2	M	RMS	W
AK	1	P	FW	W	NE	3	WNC	MW	MW
AZ	4	M	RMS	W	NV	1	M	RMS	W
AR	4	S	S	S	NH	2	NE	NE	ENE
CA	43	P	FW	W	NJ	15	MA	NE	ENE
CO	5	M	RMS	W	NM	2	M	RMS	W
CT	6	NE	NE	ENE	NY	39	MA	NE	ENE
DE	1	MA	B	ENE	NC	11	S	S	S
FL	15	S	S	S	ND	1	WNC	MW	MW
GA	10	S	S	S	OH	23	ENC	MW	MW
HW	2	P	FW	W	OK	6	B	B	S
ID	2	M	RMS	W	OR	4	P	FW	W
IL	24	ENC	MW	MW	PA	25	MA	NE	ENE
IN	11	ENC	MW	MW	RI	2	NE	NE	ENE
IA	6	WNC	MW	MW	SC	6	S	S	S
KS	5	WNC	MW	MW	SD	2	WNC	MW	MW
KY	7	B	B	S	TN	8	B	S	S
LA	8	S	S	S	TX	24	S	S	S
ME	2	NE	NE	ENE	UT	2	M	RMS	W
MD	8	B	B	ENE	VT	1	NE	NE	ENE
MA	12	NE	NE	ENE	VA	10	S	S	S
MI	19	ENC	MW	MW	WA	7	P	FW	W
MN	8	WNC	MW	MW	WV	4	B	B	ENE
MS	5	S	S	S	WI	9	ENC	MW	MW
MO	10	B	B	MW	WY	1	M	RMS	W

(a) op.cit., from Roos' class handout (spirit master).

(b) op.cit., Clausen.

(c) op. cit., Shaffer.

(d) In a conversation with L. John Roos, on or about Wednesday February 17, 1982, the regional variable for this study was discussed. The instructor suggested that the "South" be defined according to the Congressional Quarterly Almanac's Conservative Coalition's definition. The instructor also suggested that the remaining states be divided into regions in a logical manner. This was accomplished by grouping the remaining states into 12, 13, and 12 member groups, based upon geographic location and proximity.

15. For a complete discussion of regression analysis see Duncan MacRae, Jr., Issues and Parties in Legislative Voting: Methods of Statistical Analysis, New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1970, pp. 131-163, 175-207, 245-284; Leonard J. Kazmier, Basic Statistics for Business and Economics, New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1979, pp. 259-326; SAS Institute, Inc., SAS Users Guide: 1979 Edition, Cary, North Carolina: SAS Institute, Inc., 1979, pp. 237-234.

16. op. cit., see discussion, Table 5, note d, p. 79.

17. op cit., Shaffer.

18. op.cit., Clausen.

19. op.cit., Clausen.

20. op. cit., Bailey and Shaffer.

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APPENDIX A

Additional Data Analyses to Support Study

Table 5. Frequencies of Selected Demographers

Demographer	House f	House Per Cent	Senate f	Senate Per Cent
Region				
1 = South	121	27.82	26	26.00
2 = East/Northeast	117	26.90	24	24.00
3 = Midwest	121	27.82	24	24.00
4 = West	76	17.46	26	26.00
Total	435	100.00	100	100.00
Party				
1 = Democrat	243	55.86	46	46.00
2 = Republican	192	44.14	53	53.00
3 = Independent	0	0.00	1	1.00
Total	435	100.00	100	100.00
Religion				
1 = Main Line Prot.	224	51.97	63	63.00
2 = Strict Inter.Prot.	44	10.22	7	7.00
3 = Catholic	120	27.84	17	17.00
4 = Jewish	26	6.03	6	6.00
5 = Other	17	3.94	7	7.00
* = Not given	4*	0.00	0	----
Total	435*	100.00	100	100.00
Sex				
1 = Female	19	4.37	3	3.00
2 = Male	416	95.63	97	97.00
Total	435	100.00	100	100.00

*Excluded from computation (n = 431)

Table 6. Mean, Median, Mode and Range of the Continuous Variables Used in the Study

Variable	House	Senate
n	435	100
Age (years)		
mean	49.33	53.42
median	49.00	52.00
mode	54.00 (23)	49.00 (8)
range	28-81	33-80
Seniority (years)		
mean	8.25	8.46
median	~ 6.00	< 5.00
mode	1.00 (76)	1.00 (19) & 3.00 (19)
range	0-40	1-34
PSS (scale 0-100)		
mean	53.79	65.46
median	~ 57.00	70.00
mode	68.00 (19)	84.00 (10)
range	14-84	31-89
ADA (scale 0-100)		
mean	44.01	44.15
median	~ 39.00	35.00
mode	not given (80) 11.00 (43)	not given (14) 17.00 (14)
range	0-100	0-94
ACA (scale 0-100)		
mean	47.33	49.42
median	42.00	43/44 (~43.5)
mode	not given (80) 13.00 (17)	not given (14) 43.00 (5)
range	4-100	0-100

(continued next page)

Table 6 (continued)

Variable	House	Senate
CC (scale 0-100)		
mean	55.76	58.99
median	66.00	63/64 (~64.5)
mode	72.00 (17)	89.00 (5)
range	1-99	0-100

Note: These variables are continuous, therefore they do not lend themselves to discrete classification. The measures of central tendency reported appear to be most appropriate.